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# Spice Race: *The Island Princess* and the Politics of Transnational Appropriation

CARMEN NOCENTELLI

SCHOLARS HAVE LONG KNOWN THAT IN WRITING *THE ISLAND Princess*—a 1621 tragicomedy set in the fabled Spice Islands of Indonesia—the English playwright John Fletcher relied on one or both of two foreign texts: Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola’s *Conquista de las islas Malucas* (“The Conquest of the Molucca Islands”), a Spanish history published at Madrid in 1609, and the “Histoire memorable de Dias espagnol, et de Quixaire princesse des Moluques” (“The Memorable Story of the Spaniard Diaz and of Quisayra, Princess of the Moluccas”), a 1615 French novella penned by Louis Gédéon, sieur de Bellan. Yet this knowledge has so far remained inert, quarantined as background information or dispersed in textual analyses that convey little or nothing of the political, historical, and cultural circumstances surrounding Fletcher’s act of appropriation. As a result, while the play’s national contexts have been insightfully explored, its transnational relation to Argensola’s *Conquista* and Bellan’s “Histoire” continues to be hazy. I seek to redress this critical oversight by placing *The Island Princess* in the context of a cultural traffic that linked France, England, and Spain during much of the seventeenth century and that in the process turned fluid signifiers of chivalric virtue into tropes of national identity. I hope not only to resolve the still-open question of Fletcher’s sources but also, and more important, to return the play to its proper context—one of intra-European competition that was as much cultural and literary as it was geopolitical and economic.<sup>1</sup>

Reading Fletcher’s tragicomedy in this light means, above all else, breaking with “national habits of thought” that invite illusions of uniqueness and insularity (Casanova 5), focusing instead on the transnational dynamics that brought the play into existence.<sup>2</sup> Far from being the autarkic product of national genius, the cultural cor-

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pus of early modern England resulted largely from acquisitive transactions carried across historically specific national and linguistic borders. Narratives, artifacts, and practices from abroad were routinely expropriated, cleansed of their most troublesome foreign associations, and annexed as characteristic—even vitally expressive—of what we have come to know as English culture.

On the surface, this traffic served a homogenizing function, fostering connections and similarities among peoples and places. Yet acts of appropriation rarely translated into relations of mere identification—if indeed there is ever such a thing. Rather, in the process of making certain things their own, English men and women made other things (and people) other. Appropriation hence involved not only “self-projection and assimilation” but also “alienation through reification and expropriation,” thereby serving as a powerful mechanism of differentiation that made for the emergence and consolidation of discrete national identities.<sup>3</sup>

Recent studies have convincingly located *The Island Princess* in the historical context of the early modern “spice race.” Shankar Raman, for instance, reads the play as an attempt to negotiate Anglo-Portuguese rivalries through the invocation of Francis Drake’s landing at Ternate (155–88), while Michael Neill underscores the relevance of mounting Anglo-Dutch dissension, pointing out that the competition among the title character’s suitors can easily be read as an international “struggle for control of the island’s material resources” (325). No one seems to have noticed, however, that the intra-European tensions staged in *The Island Princess* also enact an international contest for symbolic and cultural resources. Just as it dramatizes the extratextual disputes that characterized Europe’s eastward expansion, the competition for the princess’s hand rehearses an intertextual struggle for control of her story, in a homology that directly implicates Fletcher’s act of literary appropriation in

the world-appropriating practices of European imperialism. In charting the transnational genesis of *The Island Princess*, then, I trace the contours of an early modern logic that linked political dominance, literary hegemony, and economic supremacy—and pursued all three as mutually reinforcing national goals.

I begin by discussing an early phase of this genesis, Argensola’s *Conquista*, as a negotiation of the ideological tensions following the annexation of Portugal (and its vast Asian empire) by the Spanish Crown. From there, I move on to consider Bellan’s “Histoire” and propose that this redeployment of Argensola was meant to serve France’s cultural interests while promoting the economic and political agenda of French mercantile groups. I then focus on Fletcher’s dramatization of the story—an act of literary poaching overtly thematized in the opening scene of *The Island Princess*—and suggest that the play’s conscious self-presentation as pilfered foreign material would have been as politically charged as its East Indian setting. Reembedding *The Island Princess* in this dynamic, I contend, can allow us not only to recover the transnational nature of seventeenth-century English culture but also to understand how appropriations across state boundaries played a fundamental role in the construction of early modern national identities.

### From Portugal’s Periphery to Spain

The 1580 annexation of Portugal by Spain joined two vast empires under Hapsburg rule, renewing Madrid’s acquisitive designs on the Moluccas—five small islands straddling the equator just off the western coast of Halmahera.<sup>4</sup> The site of lucrative clove plantations, this diminutive archipelago held an importance far disproportionate to its size and was the object of a vicious struggle that for over a century pitted Europe’s leading powers against one another. An early dispute between Portugal and Spain, each of which claimed that the

Moluccas lay on its side of the Tordesillas line, had been settled in 1529 in favor of the former. The Portuguese, however, did not enjoy their possession for long: in 1575 native forces ousted them from their fortified settlement on Ternate, inaugurating a period of bloodshed graphically depicted in Argensola's *Conquista*. As Islamic "false prophets" ("falsos profetas") fanned the flames of violence, Christians were made to suffer the most excruciating torments: "They dismembered the bodies, burned arms and legs in the sight of their still-living trunks . . . , tore children apart under their mothers' eyes, and ripped babies from their pregnant wombs . . ." ("Desmembraban los cuerpos, abrasavan los braços y piernas a vista del dueño que vivió en ellas . . . , [a] los ojos de las madres despedaçavan los hijos: y a las preñadas se los tiravan de los vientres. . . ." [155, 97]).<sup>5</sup>

Remnants of the Portuguese garrison, meanwhile, regrouped on nearby Tidore, where a new fortress was built and a new settlement founded. This was the situation in 1579, when Francis Drake called at Ternate during his famous voyage around the world.<sup>6</sup> Increasingly aggressive Dutch forays followed, and by the early years of the new century intra-European competition had spiraled into open conflict. In the spring of 1605, under the attentive eye of English East India Company merchants, a Dutch-Ternaten fleet led by Cornelis Sebastiaanszoon attacked the Portuguese settlement on Tidore. At first the assailants fared poorly; but just as the defenders seemed to have "the victory in their hands, the fort took fire and blew up even with the ground; so that all the Portingalls which were under the walles of the fort were there buried, and the most part within the fort were blown up into the ayre" (Foster 45). The explosion reversed the battle's momentum, forcing the defenders to yield. Thus were the Portuguese "dispossessed of all the Moluccas," Samuel Purchas reported in his 1625 *Pilgrimes* (715). Nobody ever found out who or what sparked the blaze that proved critical to their defeat.<sup>7</sup>

News of Tidore's fall lashed the Hapsburg government into action: the loss of the island had to be avenged and Protestant expansionism forestalled—two goals that meshed neatly with Spain's smoldering hopes of gaining the Moluccas for itself. In 1606 a large expedition, planned in Spain and led by the Philippine governor, Pedro de Acuña, landed on Ternate and swiftly overcame resistance. Achieved after decades of ineffectual efforts and allegedly at little cost for the attackers, the capture of Ternate marked the beginning of "the first and only period of Spanish influence" in the archipelago (Andaya 152). In the wake of Acuña's campaign, the islands ceased to be a dependency of Portugal, their administration being quickly reformed along lines more in keeping with Spanish precepts of empire. The *capitão mór* ("captain major"), the highest-ranking official under Portuguese administration, was replaced by a Spanish governor resident at Ternate and subordinate to the colonial government in Manila (Bohigian 58). The flow of spice was reorganized to accommodate Spanish commercial interests. "At present the Portuguese no longer have any cloves at their disposal," noted the French traveler François Pyrard de Laval in 1611, "which annoys them much, and they have a plea about it against the Spaniards in the Council of the King of Spain" ("aujourd'huy les Portugais n'ont plus de girofle en leur disposition, ce qui les fasche fort, & plaident là aussi au Conseil du Roy d'Espagne contre les Espagnols" [2: 175]).<sup>8</sup>

In the end, Spanish influence in the Moluccas proved short-lived, waning by 1664. The discursive reverberations of Acuña's 1606 victory, however, would be long lasting. As it happened, the Council of the Indies—the supreme governing body of Spain's colonial possessions—was presided over by Pedro Fernández de Castro, count of Lemos, better known to literary historians as Cervantes's wayward patron. It was probably at the count's behest that Argensola, an Aragonese priest who had achieved early notoriety as

a poet, began to set down in writing an account of the campaign, whose organization the count had spearheaded and whose success he regarded as the main achievement of his administration. The finished product, the *Conquista de las islas Malucas*, appeared at Madrid in the spring of 1609.<sup>9</sup>

Modern criticism has treated Argensola as the poor stepchild of a rich and compelling literary age, and in doing so it has effectively foreclosed any serious consideration of the popularity he enjoyed among his contemporaries. Yet there is much good evidence that he was held in high regard. Cervantes, for one, dubbed Bartolomé and his brother Lupericio “two suns of poetry” (“dos soles de poesía”), praising Bartolomé in particular for his “wit, elegance, style, and inventiveness” (“ingenio, gala, estilo y bizarría” [qtd. in Mir lxxxiv]). The renowned humanist Pedro de Valencia extolled Bartolomé’s eloquence, while the writer and diplomat Diego de Saavedra Fajardo commended him for his gravity and erudition. Lope de Vega, for his part, declared Argensola the best writer of his times (Mir lxxxiv–lxxxv). Outside Spain, John Locke applauded the elegance of his language, “wherein [Argensola] has outdone most men” (533).

The *Conquista* has largely shared the fate of its author: despite earning occasional recognition as “one of the classics of Spanish literature” (Penrose 303), it has been ignored by modern critics. Nonetheless, this work circulated widely during the early modern period, garnering international praise and providing for multiple translations, borrowings, and adaptations. By 1675 passages and abridgments had found their way into Purchas’s *Pilgrimes*, Johann Albrecht von Mandelslo’s *Morgenländische Reyse-Beschreibung* (“Oriental Travelogue” [1658]), and Manuel de Faria e Sousa’s *Asia portuguesa* (“Portuguese Asia” [1666–75]). A complete French translation was published in 1706; English and German editions followed in 1708 and 1710, respectively. In addition, Argensola’s *Conquista* provided a host

of seventeenth-century writers with a rich repository of “oriental” material—forbidden loves, cruel vengeance, and harem intrigues—all neatly and conveniently organized in often prurient interpolated narratives.

The longest and best known of these narratives begins with the capture of the king of Tidore Island, Gapi Baguna, by enemy Ternaten forces.<sup>10</sup> In the power vacuum that follows, the king’s sister, Quisayra, proclaims that she will marry none but the man who brings her brother home, dead or alive. She hopes, in this manner, to have her brother killed while providing her secret lover, a Portuguese captain named Ruy Diaz de Acuña, an opportunity to claim her hand in marriage. The plan, however, wrecks on the shoals of Ruy Diaz’s inexplicable indolence; as he bides his time, unable or unwilling to act, a native suitor by the name of Salama decides to undertake the venture. “[C]oncealed among a crowd of merchants” (“[M]ezclado en la turba de negociantes” [151]), he reaches Ternate, frees the king, and returns home to claim the promised prize. This twist engenders a series of complications, which end with the murder of Ruy Diaz at the hands of his nephew Roque Piñeyro, the nephew’s death in a duel with Salama, and Quisayra’s eventual marriage to the victor. “And since the Portuguese make as much of honor lost or gained in love affairs . . . as the ancient Greeks made of winning the Olympic games,” Argensola concludes caustically, “I will leave the vindication of these lovers to the care of those who are well skilled in these matters . . .” (“Y pues del honor que se cobra, o pierde en los casos de amor . . . se hace entre la Nacion Portuguesa tanta estimacion, como la que otro tiempo se hizo en Grecia de la vitorias alcançadas en los juegos Olympicos, quedara reservada la defesa destos amantes, para la sutileza de los entendimientos que entienden la materia . . .” [153–54]).

Although the Quisayra story’s adherence to the stock conventions of romance may well suggest a purely fictional derivation, much of Argensola’s account finds ample corroboration



in the colonial archive. Evidence from the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, in Lisbon, for instance, confirms the 1589 appointment of one Ruy Diaz de Acuña to the post of *capitão mór* of the Portuguese fortress on Tidore.<sup>11</sup> A 1579 letter from the Jesuit mission at Goa substantiates the king's capture and his eventual rescue, while a colonial report details Salama's quest, noting that this success earned the hero "perpetual fame, greater than any Tidorese ever had" ("fama perpetua, mayor do que numqua Tidore teve assy").<sup>12</sup> These documentary sources also tell us, however, that the historical events surrounding the capture of Gapi Baguna did not unfold as Argensola recounts them: the Portuguese are conspicuously absent from the action, and there is no mention of Ruy Diaz de Acuña, no indication that he died an untimely death, and no suggestion that he might somehow have failed to complete his three-year assignment as *capitão mór*. This is not entirely surprising, for the dating of these documents makes abundantly clear that Ruy Diaz de Acuña arrived at Tidore well over a decade *after* the capture and eventual rescue of the king.

It would be easy to suppose that Argensola got his time lines confused or—as Hubert Jacobs has lamented—that he naively mixed "historical facts with novel-like fantasies" (218). And yet dismissing the Quisayra story as the mere by-product of its author's historiographical shortcomings would mean missing crucial aspects of the *Conquista* as appropriation, an attempt at recombining fragments of Portugal's colonial archive for uniquely Spanish political and ideological purposes. The early discourse of Iberian expansion had found in chivalric romance a language that could contain the uncertainties of the expansionist enterprise while exalting its achievements. The exotic settings, perilous exploits, and amorous pursuits typical of the genre provided not only the informational context needed to assimilate the novelty of distant lands but also elaborate patterns of conduct after which European ad-

venturers could model their lives (Goodman 22). The problem, as the *Conquista* disappointingly points out, was that the language of chivalric romance yielded either "some fable full of monstrosities" ("alguna fabula llena de monstruosidades") or some *cantar de gesta* ("chanson de geste") featuring "a very great number of people and deaths" ("admirable numero, y muertes de gente" [2]). Neither one, Argensola claimed, could qualify as history, since the vagaries of human desire, not the truth of divine providence, organized the narrative.<sup>13</sup> In the case of the Moluccas, writing real history meant first and foremost explaining how the islands could have been lost to Protestant *hereges* ("heretics") and native *Moros* ("Moors" [Leonardo de Argensola 232, 32])—an outcome, it should be noted, that the *Conquista* blames on the Portuguese, providing a chronicle of the many intolerable abuses perpetrated during their rule.

This ideological premise suggests that the chivalric emplotment of the Quisayra story is neither accidental nor innocent of polemical charge: indeed, Argensola's inset tale seems to have been constructed expressly to disappoint all expectations of Portuguese chivalry. The narrative's beginning sets for Ruy Diaz expectations of bravery and success that are directly belied in the dénouement, thereby exposing the arbitrariness of the assumptions that had sustained them in the first place. By revealing the would-be hero as a cowardly opportunist with no penchant for chivalry and no inclination for courtly love, the story of Princess Quisayra articulated a critique that was both historiographical and historical. It uncovered the biases and preconceptions of chivalric romance, making the form untenable as truthful historiography; at the same time, it figured the iniquity and self-interest of Portuguese colonial officials in the Moluccas, powerfully indicting their administration.

This does not mean that Argensola did not share the colonialist ideologies of the Portuguese. Nowhere does he express reservations about the domination and exploitation

of the East Indies or suggest that the natives should be on an equal footing with the Europeans. The ambiguity of his stance derives, rather, from the ideological tensions that the 1606 conquest had produced. Hapsburg claims to the archipelago depended largely on Portuguese prior possession—hence Argensola's insistence on celebrating Pedro de Acuña's victory as the islands' return to the status quo ante. Yet no amount of reconquest rhetoric could smooth over the fact that this victory had effectively ushered in a new colonial era, transferring the Moluccas from Portugal to Spain. Such pilfering could be legitimized only by portraying Portugal's rule in the archipelago as a historical blunder that Spain would rectify. The story of Princess Quisayra served such a legitimizing purpose: it voiced a native plea for help, implicitly construing Acuña's 1606 campaign as a long-overdue liberation from tyranny and oppression, a correction merely returning the islands to the course of providential history. At the same time, Quisayra's story opened a space of dissimulation that allowed for the articulation of a specifically Spanish imperial identity. For while the kidnapping of Gapi Baguna mirrored and anticipated the fall of Tidore in 1605, the reactions to these analogous captures could hardly be represented as more dissimilar. The base passions and sordid motives of the Portuguese contrast explicitly with the pious and lofty purposes of Spanish intervention in the Moluccas, while Ruy Diaz de Acuña's never-attempted rescue of the king stands mightily at odds with the successful rescue of the islands by Pedro de Acuña. In Argensola's telling of the story, the poor performance of the Portuguese captain enhanced the glory of the Spanish general. One Acuña's loss was another Acuña's gain.

### From Spain to France

We may never know for sure how the botched romance of Ruy Diaz and Quisayra found its

way into France, where it appeared as the "Histoire memorable de Dias espagnol, et de Quixaire princesse de Moluques." Even the author, an early-seventeenth-century orientalist who was secretary to the French embassy in Constantinople and French consul at Aleppo, is virtually unknown.<sup>14</sup> All we know is this: by 1615 the story of Princess Quisayra was extracted from the *Conquista*, translated into French, and placed at the heart of Cervantes's *Novelas ejemplares* ("Exemplary Novels"). Balancing, as it were, the six novels translated by François de Rosset against the six translated by Vital d'Audiguier, the "Histoire" continued to accompany Cervantes's novellas for much of the century. Indeed, from 1615 to 1666, a period Charles Mazouer has aptly dubbed "the Golden Age of Spanish influence" ("l'âge d'or de l'influence espagnole"), every printing of the *Novelas* issued in France—and there were at least nine of them—conspicuously advertised Bellan's "Histoire" on its title page. By the eighteenth century, reference to Bellan's authorship had all but disappeared, and the "Histoire" (now in revised form) surreptitiously entered the Cervantine canon.

Thus, the fortunes of Princess Quisayra inevitably inflected the reception of Cervantes in France and were in turn inflected by the tale's contextualization within the *Novelas*. Cervantes had famously proposed his novellas as a new kind of fiction; in France they were perceived as a distinctly Spanish kind of fiction, in the sense that they reflected the social, political, and historical realities of seventeenth-century Spain and epitomized the country's literary achievements. "It must be confessed that the Spaniards are somewhat better than we are in the arrangement and invention of a story" ("[I] faut confesser que les Espagnols ont quelque chose par dessus nous en l'ordre, & en l'invention d'une Histoire"), admitted d'Audiguier in his preface to the *Novelas*, just before pointing out that Spanish works had, however, none of the "purity" allegedly characterizing French letters.

Whatever advantage the Spaniards might hold over the French, moreover, was not really theirs but rather the result of appropriation, since novelists like Cervantes had merely “borrowed from the Greeks” (“emprunté des Grecs” [A5r–A5v]).

Seen in this light, translation into French simply plucked away feathers that the Spaniards had themselves borrowed. And because it also liberated ancient Greek (i.e., Byzantine) matter from the strange and uncouth language of Spain, frenchification was a matter of emancipation, a sure improvement on Cervantes’s work. “Having kept the naturalness of [the author’s] design and embellished his language,” d’Audiguier concluded, “I believe I give you a version that is clearer and consequently better than the original” (“Tellement qu’ayant gardé la nayfueté de ses conceptions, & embelly son langage; Je croy te donner ceste version plus nette, & par consequent meilleure que l’original” [A6r]). D’Audiguier’s bold assertions of superiority may well be commonplace rhetoric, a trite way to authorize the work, emphasize the translator’s importance, and claim literary authority for both. What makes this rhetoric striking, however, is its jingoistic tinge: pitting Spanish *inventio* against French *elocutio*, d’Audiguier’s preface recasts translation as an antagonistic endeavor challenging the hegemony of Spain.

D’Audiguier’s stance on the *Novelas* is in many ways symptomatic of Franco-Spanish cultural relations during the first half of the seventeenth century. In the latter part of the sixteenth century, France had seen an outpouring of anti-Spanish sentiment, as can be easily seen in works such as *Coppie de l’anti-Espagnol* (*The Coppie of the Anti-Spaniard*) or *Le masque de la ligue et de l’hespagnol decouvert* (*The Masque of the League and the Spaniard Discovered*)—both of which, incidentally, were immediately translated into English. By the early seventeenth century, however—and especially after the 1615 wedding of Louis XIII and the Spanish infanta Anne of Austria—

France found itself swept up in a craze for all things Spanish, from horses and fashion to music, literature, and dance. The Hispanophobia that had characterized the last decades of the previous century did not altogether disappear but became more muted. Virulent opposition turned into self-consciously antagonistic emulation that sought to appropriate Spanish manners and values in the attempt to equal and excel them (Cioranescu 116–21).

It is hardly coincidental, therefore, that the title of Bellan’s novella identifies Ruy Diaz not as a Portuguese but as a Spaniard. This initial equivocation is sustained in the text, where the intermittent conflation of Portugal with Spain provides ample opportunity to criticize both. The 1575 revolt of Ternate, for instance, is used to bear out the claim that “the Spanish nation . . . is insufferably arrogant” (“la nation Espagnolle . . . est insupportable pour son arrogance” [3r]), though this revolt was directed against the Portuguese rather than against the Spaniards. Likewise, Ruy Diaz’s braggart tongue and sluggish action are tactically deployed as proofs that all Spaniards are “full of vanity and lies” (“pleine de vanité, & de mensonge” [13v]), though the novella also mentions that Ruy Diaz “belonged to one of the most illustrious families of Portugal” (“estoit d’une des plus illustres maisons de Portugal” [5r]).

Even as it leaves Argensola’s tale virtually unchanged, Bellan’s strategy turns what had been a critique of Portugal’s colonial past into a testimony of Spain’s present inadequacies—an understanding reinforced by the text’s placement among Cervantes’s *Novelas*. In this way, Bellan’s novella clearly exceeds the boundaries of translation as a transfer of meaning from one language to another. Through recontextualization, it retorts Argensola’s account against Hapsburg Spain and in doing so defies not just its cultural but also its geopolitical dominance.

By 1615 the Moluccan setting of the Quisayra story gave Bellan’s two-pronged



challenge a tactical edge that was supremely suited to the interests of French merchants and financiers. These entrepreneurial circles had long cast envious eyes on the Spice Islands: a small fleet set sail from Saint-Malo as early as 1601, and the Compagnie de Le Roy et Godefroy, a trading outfit modeled after the recently formed English and Dutch East India companies, was chartered in 1604.<sup>15</sup> It was only after King Henry IV's death, however, that the political climate in France became favorable to the aspirations of these groups. A flurry of publications related to the East immediately appeared. In 1610 a translation of *Itinerario, voyage ofte schipvaert van Jan Huygen van Linschoten naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien* ("Itinerary, Voyage, or Passage by Jan Huygen van Linschoten to the East or Portuguese Indies") first acquainted the French with the riches of Asia and the seeming decline of Iberia's power in that region.<sup>16</sup> The following year saw the publication of *Discours du voyage des François aux Indes Orientales* ("Discourse of the French Voyage to the East Indies"), dedicated to Queen Maria de' Medici and written by François Pyrard de Laval, a survivor of the 1601 expedition.<sup>17</sup> Over the course of the next few years, Pyrard rewrote and expanded his account twice, arguing each time more forcefully for a French intervention in the East. While lamenting that the Portuguese and Spaniards sought "to keep to themselves the elements that are common to all, close the seas, and by all kinds of wrongdoing chase away the French and other nations who would voyage and traffic there" ("asservir à eux seuls, les elemens communs à tous, fermer la mer, & chasser par toutes sortes de mauvais traitemens les François & autres nations, qui voudroient voyager & trafiquer sur les lieux" [1: 2–3]), Pyrard also suggested that determined rivals would have every chance to supplant the Iberians, since the latter were "people not more valiant at sea than on land" ("ne . . . pas gens vaillans sur mer, mais si bien en terre" [2: 356]).

Pyrard's implicit call to action did not go unheeded. In the years that followed, just as Bellan was penning his "Histoire," the French grew increasingly interested in the potential profits of the Asian trade. After Henry IV's death, the Compagnie de Le Roy et Godefroy had sought and obtained a renewal of the 1604 charter, extending its monopoly until 1624. In 1615, however, merchants from Rouen petitioned the Crown for permission to engage in the Eastern trade. As a result, the two groups were merged into the Compagnie des Moluques, which was granted letters patent on 2 July 1615.<sup>18</sup> It was the beginning of a more decisive expansionist policy that would bring under French control the islands of Rodrigues and Réunion, in the Indian Ocean (1638); Pondicherry, on the Coromandel Coast (1668); and Chandernagore, in West Bengal (1673).

Coinciding as it did with an early but significant phase of French expansion, the publication of Bellan's "Histoire" served the nation's cultural interests while promoting the agenda of French mercantile groups. It is certainly telling, in this respect, that the novella ends on an acquisitive note missing in Argensola, as if to suggest that courage and perseverance could not fail to produce geopolitical results. Chivalric exploits, the "Histoire" seems to say, win not only princesses but islands as well: Quisayra's brother "being dead, Salama was elected king of Tidore; in this manner he happily enjoyed *both the lady and the sovereignty* that his constancy and valor had justly acquired" ("estant mort, Salama fut esleu Roy de Tidore; Ainsi il jouïst tres heureusement *de la Dame & de la Royauté* que sa constance & sa valeur luy avoient justement acquises" [21v; my emphasis]). Far from being "unconcerned with national rivalries," as Michael Neill has claimed (322), Bellan's novella keeps them at its center: it is a political intervention that writes France's presence into the fraught dynamics of intra-European competition.

### From the Continent to England

Accustomed as we are to seeing Anglo-Spanish relations in the light of the Armada, we tend to forget the rich and often intimate connections that existed between England and Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. From Henry VIII's marriage to Catherine of Aragon to Charles I's attempted "Spanish match" through Mary Tudor's Catholic reign, the two nations remained closely linked despite their differences and disputes. The peace treaty of 1604 intensified these connections: English merchants gained access to Spanish ports, and many an Englishman traveled to or resided in Spain (Loftis 108). An ambivalent Hispanophilia became as much a part of England's culture as of France's. "Ask from your courtier, to your inns of court man, / To your mere milliner: they will tell you all," quips Face in Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* (1610):

Your Spanish jennet is the best horse. Your  
Spanish  
Stoup is the best garb. Your Spanish beard  
Is the best cut. Your Spanish ruffs are the best  
Wear. Your Spanish pavanne the best dance.  
Your Spanish titillation in a glove  
The best perfume. And, for your Spanish pike,  
And Spanish blade, let your poor Captain  
speak. (4.4.7–14)

In literary matters, as well, Spain held sway, providing models that would shape the English canon for centuries to come. It is in this context that the Quisayra tale crossed the English Channel, finding new employment in *The Island Princess*. Like many of his contemporaries, John Fletcher was decidedly partial to Spanish prose and made abundant use of Cervantes's work: no fewer than five of his extant plays have been shown to derive from *Don Quixote*, while *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* (*The Labors of Persiles and Sigismunda*) was partially reworked in *The Customs of the Country*. Six additional plays—*Love's Pilgrimage*, *The Queen of*

*Corinth*, *Beggars' Bush*, *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*, *The Chances*, and *The Fair Maid of the Inn*—were drawn at least in part from the *Novelas*, presumably through the mediation of Rosset's and d'Audiguier's French translations.<sup>19</sup> It is no surprise, then, that Fletcher should turn to the Quisayra tale, since this had effectively become part of the Cervantes canon through Bellan's interpolation. Indeed, despite a few plot changes—the most significant of these being the replacement of Salama with a Portuguese youth named Armusia and the vilification of the king of Ternate, who is downgraded to "governor" and demonized as the play's archvillain—there are significant traces of the "Histoire" in *The Island Princess*, not least in the play's title.

As a whole, however, the play suggests an almost intimate familiarity with the *Conquista*; many of Fletcher's alleged innovations find precedence in Argensola's account. Armusia's use of gunpowder to set the governor's castle on fire, for example, reworks details of the 1605 attack on Tidore, providing an imaginative etiology for the mysterious explosion that had forced the Portuguese to surrender. The governor's disguise as "a Moore Priest," described in the stage directions to act 4, scene 1, endows with literal meaning Argensola's reference to the Islamic "false prophets" emboldening Ternate's anti-Iberian and anti-Christian resolve. Even the threat of torture and Armusia's martyrlike resistance to apostasy in act 5, scene 2—a scene that has no equivalent in previous versions of the tale—bear the *Conquista*'s imprint, recalling Argensola's vivid depiction of the persecutions suffered by Christians after the Portuguese expulsion of 1575.

More significant, *The Island Princess* thematizes its debt to both Argensola and Bellan, overtly rehearsing the transnational dynamics of its genesis. In the opening scene of the play, for instance, we learn that Moluccan aristocrats take as much pride in rowing their boats as Iberian noblemen do in riding their horses:

They take as much delight in a Baratto,  
A little scurvy boate, to row her tithly,  
And have the art to turne and wind her nimbly,  
.....

As we Portugalls, or the Spaniards do in riding,  
In managing a great horse which is princely,  
The French in Courtship, or the dancing  
English,

In carrying a faire presence. (1.1.20–27)

The prominent position of “Baratto”—a term unusual enough to require the gloss “A little scurvy boate”—advertises the work’s foreign roots even more conspicuously than the deictic “we Portugalls.” *Baratto* is a phonic rendering of the Spanish *baroto*, itself a Cebuano loanword denoting the double-outrigger canoe typical of the Philippines (Retana 46–47). The term appears repeatedly in the *Conquista* but is absent in Bellan’s “Histoire,” strongly suggesting a direct link between Fletcher and Argensola. In fact, much of the passage is derived almost verbatim from Argensola, according to whom “just as Iberian nobles learn to ride and break horses, thus the island princes of the East pride themselves in handling oars and sails” (“como en España aprenden los nobles a correr, y hazer mal a los cavallos, suelen los Principes Isleños en todo aquel Oriente, preciarse del manejo de los remos, y velas” [151]).<sup>20</sup>

The opening scene of *The Island Princess* does more than reiterate sources. In Fletcher’s hands, Argensola’s simple simile expands into an elaborate list of cultural competencies and social performances that includes not just Moluccan seamanship and Iberian manège but also French courtship and English dancing. In a play that features neither French nor English dramatis personae, these additions are almost impertinently unwarranted; still, they are far from gratuitous. By their sheer presence, they foreground the growing scope of the early modern spice race—and demarcate a transnational space of circulation where social performances of various kinds (dancing, riding, boating, etc.) could become emblems of national identity. In ad-

dition, Fletcher’s expanded simile draws a metaliterary map of Quisayra’s journey from Portugal’s periphery to Spain, from Spain to France, and from the Continent to England. *The Island Princess* hence inscribes itself at the end of a transnational chain of appropriations, a belated arrival that exactly mirrors the position of Armusia as a newcomer, “[o]ne scarce arrived, not harden’d yet, not read / In dangers and great deeds . . .” (2.6.131–32).

The resulting homology allows us to bridge the antinomy between textual criticism, “which looks no further than texts themselves in searching for their meaning,” and historical criticism, which concerns itself with “the historical conditions under which texts are produced, without, however, accounting for their literary quality and singularity” (Casanova 4–5). Moving across textual landscapes clearly signposted as someone else’s, Fletcher’s tragicomedy rehearses poetically the *modus operandi* of early English expansionism, with its habitual looting of Spanish and Portuguese shipping, holding of people and towns for ransom, and poaching in Iberian imperial waters.<sup>21</sup> The seeming contradiction between Fletcher’s appreciation for Spanish literature and his more or less openly anti-Spanish politics is thereby revealed to be less an incongruity than a dialectic between two sides of the same appropriative coin.<sup>22</sup> Just as it underscores England’s dependence on Spanish literary and political models, Fletcher’s use of Argensola betrays a deep-seated jingoism: it expropriates and annexes select aspects of Iberian culture while consigning the rejected aspects to radical otherness.

It is instructive, in this regard, to focus on the fortunes of the king of Ternate (“Ternata” in the play), whose character is suggestively demoted to governor in Fletcher’s text. In Bellan’s “Histoire” and Argensola’s *Conquista*, Ternate’s ruler appears only fleetingly, first as the sworn enemy and captor of Gapi Baguna and later as Quisayra’s spurned suitor. In *The Island Princess*, however, this hitherto

minor character plays a crucial role as the fake “Moore Priest” whose pretended prophecies sunder the friendship between Portuguese and Tidorese, bringing the action to the brink of tragedy. If the disguise dramatizes Argensola’s reference to the dangerous (for the Iberians) influence of Islam in the Moluccas, it also redirects that reference to provide a displaced outlet for anti-Catholic sentiments. Since at least Martin Luther’s dictum that whoever could “freely judge that the Turk with his Koran is damned” could just as freely “pronounce sentence against the pope” (134), the association of Catholicism with Islam had become standard fare in the Protestant world. By the early seventeenth century, the Dutch called Islamic scholars “Moorish papists” (“Moorse papen”), and Samuel Purchas could refer to Pope Urban II as “the second Turban” without any gloss (qtd. in Chew 102).

Initiated by the governor’s disguise in act 4, scene 1, the association of Islam with Catholicism is reinforced in act 5, scene 2, where Armusia’s refusal to renounce his faith is met with threats of punishment invoking the specter of the Inquisition. But before “the fires” are readied and “the severall tortures” brought out (5.2.104–05), the Portuguese storm castle and city, preventing the consummation of Armusia’s martyrdom. In the process, the governor is captured and his masquerade discovered. This moment of anagnorisis marks a climax in the progressive othering of Spain: deprived of his disguise, the “Moore Priest” is revealed to be not merely the governor of Ternate but also a Spanish nobleman. “Why *Don* Governour,” exclaims one of the characters, addressing the play’s archvillain with a mockingly deferential Spanish title, “What make you here? how long have you taken orders?” (5.5.58–59).<sup>23</sup> Ideologically overdetermined, the governor in *The Island Princess* is both a native Moor and a Spanish official, a convergence conveniently legitimizing the overthrow of Islamic influence and Spanish rule.

While construing Spaniards and Moluccans as villainous others, *The Island Princess* appropriates Salama’s chivalry, projecting it onto the young Portuguese Armusia. By replacing the native hero with a European one, Fletcher radically alters the tenor of the Quisayra plot: a story of Portuguese failure turns into a triumph of Portuguese prowess. At first sight, it may seem strange that such an unprecedented rehabilitation should occur in England—and at the hands of someone as politically unsympathetic as Fletcher. We should keep in mind, however, that Spain’s takeover of Portugal had a double effect on Anglo-Portuguese relations: if it allowed for open defiance and outright hostility, it also brought England and Portugal closer together (Wallis Chapman 146–47). In the wake of the annexation, England rallied in support of the Portuguese pretender, Antonio of Crato. It was allegedly at Antonio’s behest that Thomas Cavendish “fired, spoiled and sunke” every Spanish vessel he encountered during his 1586–88 voyage of circumnavigation (Hakluyt 822) and that the famous Counter-Armada sailed for Lisbon in 1589, with explicit plans to spearhead an anti-Spanish revolt.<sup>24</sup>

The Anglo-Spanish peace of 1604 put an end to these Lusophile efforts but did not resolve the ideological ambiguities that inflected England’s view of Portugal. For some, Portugal was merely part, and not necessarily the best, of Spain; for others, it was yet another victim of Spanish cruelty and tyranny.<sup>25</sup> And for those who counted on the antipathy between Portuguese and Spaniards, it was the “Stone” that would one day “bruise and breake the *Hornes*” of the Hapsburg Empire.<sup>26</sup> Read in this light, Fletcher’s seeming celebration of Portuguese chivalry works hand in glove with his condemnation of Spain; it is a strategy that tears Iberia asunder, fragmenting the unity that Argensola’s *Conquista* and Bellan’s “Histoire” had sought, for different reasons, to construct.

This strategy of fragmentation is pursued further through the play’s obsessive catego-



rization of Armusia as a Portuguese *with a difference*—a “stranger” as alien to his own countrymen as he is to the Moluccan islanders (2.6.64, 2.6.80, 3.1.43, 3.2.76, 3.2.101, 4.2.75). The most visible aspect of this difference resides perhaps in Armusia’s sexual politics, which are informed by a courtly-love ethos no other character seems to share (Loomba 80–81). In addition, Armusia’s social status and position in the Iberian colonial apparatus are uniquely vague, unlike those of his rival and countryman Ruy Diaz, who, as a nobleman and a military official, is “a near-perfect representation of the real form taken by Portuguese authority” in the Indies (Raman 163).

Armusia’s outsidership thus clears a path of dissimilative self-identification: not only does his status as “a gentleman scarce landed” mirror England’s belated entry into the early modern spice race (2.6.70), but his alienation from the other Portuguese characters also establishes a vantage point from which seventeenth-century Englishmen could envision their future in the Moluccas. England’s past record in the archipelago had been largely disappointing. Drake’s landing at Ternate in 1579 had produced no commercial agreement or colonial toehold, and Edward Fenton, in his 1582 trading venture to the Moluccas, never made it to his destination. Only in 1605 had a commercial expedition reached the islands, and since then English trade in the area had proved difficult and halting. By the summer of 1619, however, things seemed poised for a change. In July an accord (the “Treaty of Defence”) joined the English East India Company (EIC) and the Dutch Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) together. The EIC was to have one-third of the Moluccan spice trade; in exchange, it would contribute equally to whatever “defensive measures” the VOC might take against Spaniards and Portuguese (Chaudhuri 50).

The Treaty of Defence proved of little benefit to the English; the accord nonetheless spurred a fleeting wave of expansionist confidence and anti-Iberian belligerence: from 1620

to 1622, the EIC scored major victories at Jask and Mozambique, helped blockade Portuguese Goa and Spanish Manila, and assisted in the capture of Hormuz, a coveted cornerstone of Portugal’s eastern empire. In this context, Armusia’s exploits do more than gloss England’s imperial desires: they undisguisedly celebrate the country’s encroachment into Hapsburg preserves. This bellicosity is evinced not just by the structural antagonism linking Armusia to the governor of Ternate—so reminiscent of the Protestant Elizabethan chivalric tradition—but by the very name *Armusia*, whose geopolitical implications would not have been lost on early-seventeenth-century audiences. During the early modern period, in fact, *Armusia* (or *Armuzia*) was another designation for Hormuz.<sup>27</sup> This spice entrepôt in the Persian Gulf had been a theater of mounting Anglo-Iberian hostilities since at least 1620; by the time of *The Island Princess*’s first recorded performance, on 26 December 1621, Hormuz was already the site of an offensive campaign that would soon oust the Portuguese from the island (Steensgaard 331–43).

Overlaid with topical allusions, Armusia’s exploits revive and appropriate the chivalric code of early Iberian adventurism, retooling it to fit within the registers of England’s mercantile expansion. This “re-functioning” of chivalry is discernible not only in the play’s insistence on the strategic necessity of Armusia’s disguise as a merchant (Raman 170) but also and more generally in an ever-present commercial lexicon made of “business” (e.g., 1.1.91, 1.1.129, 2.3.78), “Magazines” (2.2.13), “Market” (2.6.63), “merchant” (2.2.30, 2.2.44), “Inventory” (3.1.114), “commodities” (3.1.178), “profit” (1.1.34, 3.1.165), and so forth. Armusia’s chivalric success, for instance, is compared with that of a merchant who “has ended his Market” before his competitors (2.6.63), while the unadventurous Ruy Diaz is scolded for not going “about his business sweating” (2.6.51). Chivalry is thus invested with new signifying power, and merchants



are transformed into paladins of England's national (and imperial) cause.

Through Armusia, *The Island Princess* imaginatively secures England's teetering fortunes in Asia: by the end of the play, the hero has freed the king, vanquished his enemies, marginalized his rivals, and won the princess. Yet this happy ending is strikingly devoid of tangible rewards: no territory is conquered, no commercial agreements are concluded, and Armusia gains little or no material advantage from his efforts. His most substantial achievement and only apparent recompense is the transformation of the non-Christian princess into a devoted and submissive Christian wife. This, of course, is a pervasive colonial trope—the European adventurer “husbanding” a feminized body of foreign lands (Neill 323). At the metaliterary level, however, the most notable aspect of this trope is the fantasy of permanence that it expresses: it is almost as if, having succeeded in appropriating the appropriations of others, *The Island Princess* came to contemplate the prospect of its own inevitable expropriation. From this perspective, Quisayra's sudden (and perplexing) conversion in act 4, scene 5, bespeaks as much a fantasy of colonial mastery as a dream of authorial control: the hope that Fletcher's act of appropriation may be the last one, that his symbolic acquisition of foreign property may prove inalienable, and that the travels of Quisayra may end in England.

Needless to say, Quisayra's travels did not end with Fletcher's tragicomedy. By crossing borders and passing from hand to hand, the story accumulated new meanings and purposes, prompting fresh acts of appropriation in a process that renewed and revalidated its signifying efficacy. During the Restoration, *The Island Princess* was revived with a vengeance, variously adapted, and performed in front of royalty at least twice. The last decade of the seventeenth century saw the play further adapted, by Nahum Tate, who conceived of the story as an example of “transcendent

Vertue, Piety and Constancy successful” (qtd. in Sprague 140). Tate's sentimental white-wash in turn provided the basis for a popular operatic appropriation that was regularly performed, often several times a year, well into the following century (Price and Hume vii–xx). On the Continent, as well, the story of Quisayra continued to be recycled, repurposed, and relocated. A dramatic adaptation of Bellan's novella, penned by a debuting Gillet de La Tessonerie and titled *La belle Quixaire* (“The Beautiful Quisayra”), was performed at the Théâtre Royal du Marais in 1639. A Spanish comedia by Melchor Fernández de León, presumably based on Argensola but recalling *The Island Princess* in several details, appeared at Madrid in 1679.

For most of the early modern period, then, the story of Quisayra continued to move across permeable cultural and linguistic boundaries, generating new and generally unforeseen meanings at every turn. The chivalric contest for the princess's hand, like the exotic islands in which it was set, functioned as a disputed possession, a beleaguered no-man's-land where Europe's leading powers confronted each other, staking overlapping claims on lands, goods, and bodies, as well as on literary texts, social performances, and cultural traditions.

In neglecting this fundamental transnationality, criticism of *The Island Princess* has largely reduced the play to its mimetic aspects, to a faithful reflection of struggles and negotiations that were taking place in the economic and geopolitical domains—and by doing so has occluded the extent to which Fletcher's appropriation actively participated in an early modern contest for hegemony that was as much material as intellectual.<sup>28</sup> And yet, as I hope I have shown, it was precisely as a transnational artifact that Fletcher's tragicomedy performed its most significant cultural work. As a link in a long chain of appropriations stretching backward and forward in time, it formed part of an intercultural space that

made for rich and sustained, if often fraught and sometimes belligerent, exchanges. If such space resisted cultural, linguistic, and national compartmentalization, it was not for this reason a challenge to the nation; to the contrary, in some ways it represented the nation's necessary and enabling counterpart, providing resources for the construction of national culture. Indeed, what seems most striking about the transnational flow I have sketched here—about Quisayra's journey from Portugal's periphery to Spain, from Spain to France, and from the Continent to England—is the similarity of the nationalist impulses that animated the flow. That such impulses should be so intimately bound to the vagaries of mercantile imperialism only underscores the extent to which the contingencies of nationhood responded to the dynamics of an aggressively expanding European world system (Wallerstein, "Construction" 80–83). Each leg of Quisayra's voyage was a profoundly political act, invested in imagining the nation precisely because it was enmeshed in the international struggles of the early modern spice race.

Fletcher's tragicomedy is thus a salutary reminder that early modern literatures constituted themselves as national—that is, as specifically Spanish, French, or English—through a series of rivalries that were always international. And while it is possible to study these literatures in splendid isolation, as if they were pure expressions of national character, only by recovering their transnational dimension can we hope to glimpse their full significance.

## NOTES

I thank Pamela Cheek and Barbara Fuchs for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this essay.

1. For a sustained discussion of *The Island Princess's* sources, see Stiefel, whose findings are summarized by Wilson. Stiefel and Wilson argue that Fletcher knew enough Spanish to read Argensola in the original. Many later critics, however, have resisted this claim. Neill,

for one, identifies Bellan's novella as Fletcher's primary source, even as he admits that the playwright "may have known" Argensola's *Conquista* "at first hand" (323). For McMullan, Bellan's novella "is as clear a comprehensive source for [Fletcher's] play as the earlier Spanish history" (308n55). In a recent assessment, Darby acknowledges the critical impasse, writing that *The Island Princess* "was based either on Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola's *Conquista de las islas Malucas . . .* or on *L'Histoire de Ruis Dias et de Quixaire princesse des Moloques*."

2. Although Casanova's Francocentric view of the international literary sphere seems to me largely untenable for the early seventeenth century, her application of world-system theory to literature remains useful for a historically grounded approach to transnational appropriation.

3. Weimann, "History" 184. Weimann's understanding of appropriation as *Aneignung*, "making things one's own," seems particularly suited to the appropriative logic I describe. It has the advantage of encompassing juridical and nonjuridical forms of possession, allowing both for "acquisitive behavior" and for "acts of intellectual energy, possession, and assimilation" ("Appropriation" 466).

4. Today the Moluccas (Maluku) of Indonesia comprise about one thousand islands stretching between Sulawesi and New Guinea; during the early modern period, however, the term denoted only the five islands of Ternate, Tidore, Makian, Motir, and Bacan (with their dependent islets).

5. In quoting from French, Spanish, and Portuguese sources, I have spelled out abbreviations but retained the original orthography. All translations are mine, though done wherever possible in consultation with published versions.

6. Drake's 1579 visit would later be exploited by the English East India Company in its controversies with the Dutch. The English argued that they had a prior claim to the Moluccas by virtue of a contract stipulated by Drake during his stay at Ternate. There is no proof that such a contract ever existed (Foster xxiii).

7. The Dutch claimed to have cannonaded the fort, but, as both Argensola and Purchas make clear, the cause of the blaze was never ascertained.

8. I quote throughout from the most complete edition of Pyrard's text, which appeared in 1619 under the title *Voyage de François Pyrard*.

9. Villiers provides a recent and balanced overview of Argensola's *Conquista*.

10. As Andaya has observed, European models of kingship do not adequately capture the position of Moluccan rulers during the early modern period (60). Since my sources routinely call these rulers kings, however, I have chosen to follow this early modern usage.

11. "Carta" 306v–307v. A British Library manuscript gives details of this appointment, the terms of which were remarkably favorable. Among other things, the new *capitão mór* was allowed to keep a retinue of forty, engage in trade, and use royal vessels for personal business. (Sá 5: 269–75; Bohigian 139). In the Arquivo Nacional da Torre

do Tombo and British Library sources the captain's name is *Rui Dias da Cunha*—the Portuguese equivalent of the Spanish *Ruy Díaz de Acuña*. Bellan spells the captain's name *Ruis Dias*, while Fletcher spells it *Ruy Dias*. For consistency, I have adopted Argensola's spelling throughout.

12. Sá 4: 346. The episode is also documented in Dueñas's "Relación," a Spanish report Argensola almost certainly used as a source. In both of these texts the hero's name is spelled *Çalama* rather than *Salama*. The princess's name is not mentioned but is given as *Quisayra* by Argensola, as *Quixaire* by Bellan, and as *Quisara* by Fletcher. For consistency, I have adopted Argensola's spellings throughout.

13. As Argensola would assert in later years, the historian's task was to penetrate the surface of events, seize what was worth remembering, and cobble it into an "exemplar of truth" ("ejemplar lleno de verdad" [Viñaza 261]).

14. Bellan's *Journal et correspondance* was not published until after his death, but his verses appeared in print in the 1610s and 1620s. As Hainsworth has noted, at least some of these were translations from the Spanish (113).

15. An earlier French expedition had sailed from Dieppe in 1529, reaching Sumatra and visiting the Maldives. The venture's returns were so meager, however, that for the rest of the sixteenth century the French preferred not to meddle with the East Indian trade (Lach 177–78; Weber, esp. 51–67).

16. I use the term *Iberia* to refer to both Portugal and Spain. The union of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns from 1580 to 1640 did not translate into a union of the two countries' respective empires. Nevertheless, Spain's enemies rarely distinguished Portuguese from Spaniards, and Spanish and Portuguese forces often combined to fight them (Boyajian 11–12).

17. For a chronology of Pyrrard's travels, see Gray xx–xxviii; Lach and Van Kley summarize his adventures (*South Asia* 279–89).

18. Weber 63. In less than two years, the new, combined company dispatched east no fewer than three separate ventures. Although none of these voyages could properly be termed a success—almost half the vessels were lost at sea or confiscated by the Dutch—collectively they opened such grand vistas of wealth that the French soon decided to carry out operations on a more ambitious scale (Lach and Van Kley, *Trade* 94; Norman 75).

19. McMullan 258–59. Darby gives a useful overview of Cervantes's influence on Jacobean drama.

20. Since at least the twelfth century, *España* could refer to the whole Iberian Peninsula. Hence, I have translated "España" as "Iberia."

21. For an insightful account of this "poetics of piracy," see Fuchs, esp. 344–47.

22. As McMullan observes, Fletcher had no tender feelings for Spain; in a letter written around 1620, he went so far as to express the wish for open war (18–21).

23. Neill contends that the figure of the governor is "calculated to remind" audiences of the island's "current subservience to Dutch power" (325). However enticing it may be to read *The Island Princess* in the light of Anglo-Dutch competition, we should not discount the fact that the play was first written and performed at a time when the English East India Company and the Dutch Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie were allies by virtue of the so-called Treaty of Defence (1619).

24. This campaign was a colossal fiasco; when the Portuguese "made no demonstration in favor of the King Antonio," the English had no choice but to withdraw (Lemon 604).

25. See, e.g., the 1605 political pamphlet *Falshood in Friendship*: "how cruell did this Sarrasin shewe himselfe, in his tyrannous conquest of Portugale, where hee murdered and massacred the faithfull Subjects of the King Don Antonio: and martyred an hundred or sixe-score Ecclesiasticall persons . . . as also the poore religious men that tooke not part with him" (12v).

26. Hay 54. Thomas Gainsford's *The Glory of England* noted that the Portuguese behaved toward Spaniards "as if there were an *Antipathy* in nature: For they used to spit at the naming a *Spaniard*, like simple people in *England* after the *Devill* was pronounced" (73).

27. For examples of *Armusia* as a geographic name, see Ussher 272; Bohun 165.

28. Wallerstein defines hegemony as "not a state of being but rather one end of a fluid continuum which describes the rivalry relations of great powers to each other" (*Politics* 39). Moretti delineates the complex relation between material and literary hegemony (77–78).

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